

Between the Ladder and the Mirror: Subjective Class Consciousness and Voting under Inequality in South Korea

Table A1. Survey information

	Survey	Year	Location	Source	Website
1	Korea General Social Survey (KGSS)	2003-2021	South Korea	Sungkyunkwan University Survey Research Center	http://kgss.skku.edu/?page_id=41

Table A2. Dependent variable for individual level analysis

	Variable	Description	Note
1	Conservative party	Q: Political party of the candidate whom respondent voted for in the last election. Conservative party = 1 Otherwise = 0	

Table A3. Explanatory variables for individual level analysis

	Variable	Description	Note
1	High subjective class	Q: Respondent perceived that his/her subjective standard of living is higher than the average = 1 Otherwise = 0	
2	Middle subjective class	Q: Respondent perceived that his/her subjective standard of living is the average = 1 Otherwise = 0	

3	Low subjective class	Q: Respondent perceived that his/her subjective standard of living is lower than the average = 1 Otherwise = 0		
4	Income	0 ~ 22 categories		
5	Education	Lack of schooling = 0 Primary school graduate = 1 Middle school graduate = 2 High school graduate = 3	Vocational college graduate = 4 University graduate or above = 5	
6	Employer	Employer = 1 Otherwise = 0		
7	Professional	managerial or professional role = 1 Otherwise = 0		ISCO
8	Gender	Female = 1 Male = 0		
9	Age	~ 29 = 1 30 ~ 39 = 2 40 ~ 49 = 3	50 ~ 59 = 4 60 ~ 69 = 5 70 ~ = 6	
10	Urban	Country = 1 Mid-small sized city = 2	Outer metropolitan area = 3 Inner metropolitan area = 4	
11	Marriage	Living with a spouse = 1 Otherwise = 0		

Table A4. Dependent variables for district level analysis

	Variable	Description	Date	Source	Website
1	2012 Presidential election	<u>Conservatives</u> Voters	13 December 2012	National Election Commission	http://info.nec.go.kr/main/main_previous_load.xhtml
2	2016 Proportional election		13 April 2016		
3	2017 Presidential election		9 May 2017		
4	2020 Proportional election		15 April 2020		
5	2022 Presidential election		9 March 2022		

Table A5. Explanatory variables for district level analysis

	Variable	Description	Year	Source	Website
1	Economic Inequality	$p^d = \frac{\sum_{h \in d(R_{10})} I_{R10}}{\sum_{h \in d(P_{40})} I_{P40}}$	2013-2022	National Health Insurance Service	https://www.nhis.or.kr/nhis/together/wbhaec06900m01.do
2	Income	Average Health Insurance Premiums	2013-2022	National Health Insurance Service	https://www.nhis.or.kr/nhis/together/wbhaec06900m01.do
3	Home ownership	$\frac{\text{Households with their own houses}}{\text{Households without their own houses}}$	2010-2022	Korean Statistical Information Service	https://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=101&tblId=DT_1PE1509

4	Education	<u>High education</u> <u>Low education</u>	2010, 2012	Korean Statistical Information Service	https://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?sso=ok&returnurl=https%3A%2F%2Fkosis.kr%3A443%2FstatHtml%2FstatHtml.do%3FtblId%3D DT_1IN0504%26orgId%3D101%26
5	Age	- Average age of population	2012- 2022	Ministry of the Interior and Safety of South Korea	https://jumin.mois.go.kr/etc/StatAvgAge.do
6	Sex	<u>Male population</u> <u>Female population</u>	2012- 2022	Korean Statistical Information Service	https://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=101&tblId=DT_1YL20701
7	Urbanization	<u>Population living in urban area</u> <u>Population</u>	2012- 2022	Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport of South Korea	https://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=315&tblId=TX_315_2009_H1001
8	Voter turnout	- Turnout of each election	2012- 2022	National Election Commission	http://info.nec.go.kr/
9	Presidential election	Presidential election = 1 Otherwise = 0			
10	Capital Region	Capital region dummy = 1 - Seoul city -Incheon city -Gyeonggi province			
11	Honam Region	Honam region dummy = 1 - Gwangju city - Jeollabuk province - Jeollanam province -Jeju island			
12	Youngnam Region	Youngnam region dummy = 1 - Busan city - Daegu city			

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ulsan city - Gyeongsangbuk province - Gyeongsangnam province 	
13	Gangwon Region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gangwon region dummy = 1 - Gangwon province 	
14	Chungcheong Region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chungcheong region dummy = 1 - Daejeon city - Chungcheongbuk province - Chungcheongnam province 	